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‘Super disabilities’ vs ‘Disabilities’? Theorizing the role of ableism in (mis)representational mythology of disability in the marketplace

Abstract

People with disabilities (PWD) constitute one of the largest minority groups with one in five people worldwide having a disability. While recognition and inclusion of this group in the marketplace has seen improvement, the effects of (mis)representation of PWD in shaping the discourse on fostering marketplace inclusion of socially marginalized consumers remains little understood. Although effects of misrepresentation (e.g., idealized, exoticized or selective representation) on inclusion/exclusion perceptions and cognitions has received attention in the context of ethnic/racial groups, the world of disability has been largely neglected. By extending the theory of ableism into the context of PWD representation and applying it to the analysis of the *We’re the Superhumans* advertisement developed for the Rio 2016 Paralympic Games, this paper examines the relationship between the (mis)representation and the inclusion/exclusion discourse. By uncovering that PWD misrepresentations can partially mask and/or redress the root causes of exclusion experienced by PWD in their lived realities, it contributes to the research agenda on the transformative role of consumption cultures perpetuating harmful, exclusionary social perceptions of marginalized groups versus contributing to advancement of their inclusion.

Keywords: Ableism; (Dis)ability; (Mis)representation; Advertising; Inclusion/Exclusion; ‘Supercrip’ stereotyping.

Introduction

"…lack of disability representation in mainstream media is a constant problem; it's both a cause and effect of societal prejudices surrounding disability"

(Ladau 2017)

People with disabilities (PWD) constitute one of the largest minority groups with one in five people worldwide having a disability (WHO 2016). Yet the role of PWD representations created by marketing communications, as a marketplace function of engaging with consumer cultures, in their perceptions of the marketplace and, more broadly, social inclusion/exclusion remains a largely underexplored area of consumer and marketing research. Whilst unsurprising since those not adherent to an 'acceptable', socialized body have been historically largely excluded from media in general and advertising images more specifically (Hardin 2003; Thompson and Hirschman 1995), the past decade has seen a modest gradual growth in PWD representation, particularly in advertising campaigns. However, driving marketplace representation merely scratches the surface of the PWD inclusion agenda.

Some of the narratives in media representations of PWD have received criticism in disability studies as misrepresenting the lived realities of this group or legitimizing conceptions of impairment, rather than social accommodation, being the main barrier PWD experience in society (Berger 2008). For example, representations of PWD as a "plot of someone who has to 'fight against his/her impairment' in order to overcome it and achieve unlikely success" (Silva and Howe 2012, 178) are considered to perpetuate the 'supercrip' stereotype, e.g., society's general low-level of expectations regarding PWD.

We posit that emergence of misrepresentative conceptions of PWD can be better understood and addressed through the theoretical lens of ableism, defined as an ability-based view of a person's body in relation to others in society (Wolbring 2011). As such, misrepresentation

constitutes a manipulation of those represented for consumption by others (Schroeder and Borgerson 2005; Schroeder and Zwick 2004). Hence, misrepresentation of PWD, even if construed with intentions of communicating inclusivity, can embody ableism-informed expressions of a "deeply and subliminally embedded" (Campbell 2008, 153) implication that PWD should strive to eradicate/overcome impairment to meet the standards deemed as the acceptable 'ability norm', to gain marketplace inclusion. Such assertions of ableist ideals of 'able disability' can manipulate the overall PWD inclusion agenda to perpetuate exclusion of PWD population overall or of specific PWD groups.

Importantly, ableism conceptually does not pertain exclusively to disability contexts and enables examination of other ability-justified constructions of forms of being (e.g., gender, ethnicity) positioned in the sociocultural order. The attractiveness of ableism as a theoretical perspective is that it enables appreciation of impairment as a complex, multidimensional force informing construction of disability and at the same time allows the examination of the interplay of impairment with other discriminatory constructions in consumption cultures. Hence, extending the theory of ableism into the analysis of the PWD marketplace (mis)representation enables what Whetten (2009) refers to as theorization of context to advance the conceptual outlook on the processes underlying marketplace inclusion/exclusion and to contribute transformative consumer wellbeing-focused models for advancement of marketing theory, practice and policy (Mick et al. 2012).

Against this background, in this paper, we interrogate the following question: whether and how meanings elicited by advertising (mis)representations of PWD evoke and relate to perceptions and views on PWD inclusion/exclusion? We proceed as follows: first, grounding in a socio-spatial view on the marketplace (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013) we define advertising misrepresentation as a form of marketplace exclusion. We then integrate extant literature on PWD marketplace inclusion/exclusion (Kaufman-Scarborough 2015; Baker 2006; Baker et al.

2007), misrepresentation (Schroeder and Borgerson 2005) and ableism (Goodley 2014; Wolbring 2011; Campbell 2008), to show how, in addition to outright omission (non-representation), ableism-informed marketplace misrepresentations of PWD can be manifested as: 1) exoticized idealization (representation portraying a 'supercrip' stereotype); and 2) faceist idealization (selective representation of PWD with characteristics closest to perceived 'able disability' norms). Next, through a multimodal case study of the *We're the Superhumans* campaign by UK broadcaster Channel 4 we explore the relationships between forms of PWD marketplace (mis)representation and the social discourses on inclusion/exclusion. Our findings show that PWD misrepresentations can partially mask the root causes of exclusion experienced by PWD and/or redress meanings of inclusion/exclusion to reinforce an ableist mythology of disability in consumption culture. We draw from these findings to outline directions for future research.

Theoretical underpinnings

As a form of social exclusion (e.g., an individual or group being disadvantaged, ostracized or restricted from participating in activities and/or environments in society), exclusion of PWD in the marketplace constituted a largely underexplored domain of consumer research until the ground-breaking work of Baker, Kaufman-Scarborough and colleagues (see, Baker [2006]; Baker et al. [2007]; Kaufman-Scarborough and Baker [2005]; Childers and Kaufman-Scarborough [2009]). While still in its infancy, this stream of research is steadily gaining momentum.

So far extant studies have predominantly focused on exclusion (and, inversely, inclusion) and perceptions and cognitions resultant from experiences of physical (non)accommodation by the marketplace for PWD as consumers. That is, PWD marketplace inclusion/exclusion has been examined from perspectives of full or partial (in)accessibility of retail servicescapes (Dennis et al. 2016; Falchetti, Ponchio and Poli Botelho 2016; Baker et al. 2007); online communities

of consumption (Annette-Hitchcock and Xu 2015); visual advertising (Kaufman-Scarborough 2001); self-care products (Downey and Catterall 2006) and other marketplace resources (Kaufman-Scarborough and Baker 2005) stemming from non-accommodation for visual impairment, wheelchair use, behaviors related to intellectual impairments etc. (Pavia and Mason 2012).

These studies show that physical (non)accommodation has profound effects upon PWD sense of identity whereby perceptions of marketplace exclusion can perpetuate self-stigmatization. Although an important step forward in advancing the PWD marketplace inclusion agenda, the focus upon physical (in)accessibility largely neglects inclusion/exclusion perceptions and cognitions that can arise through experiences of symbolic (non)accommodation as expressed by the images and narratives created and conveyed by marketplace actors. We, therefore, turn our attention to the potential impact of advertising in overcoming or reinforcing meanings (perceptions and views) related to PWD marketplace inclusion/exclusion.

Advertising misrepresentation as a form of marketplace exclusion

Advertising – a key form of marketing communication – embodies a form of what Saatcioglu and Ozanne (2013) term a subjective social space, i.e., a mental projection of concepts, metaphors, symbols and discourses related to social order as envisioned by marketers and other marketplace actors generating this space. Creation of images and narratives based on different characteristics of those consuming this space often serves to represent diversity and inclusion as social order in the marketplace (Schroeder 2015; Gopaldas and DeRoy 2015). As one of the social communication's means, advertising is situated in the sociocultural codes and individual conceptions of the self and the society and must be examined both as reflector and influencer of socially harmful versus wellbeing-enhancing values, norms, and behaviors (Schroeder and Zwick 2004; Carrigan and Szmigin 2000).

Among those consuming advertising, its meanings can be understood as misrepresentation (i.e., misconstruing, intentionally or unintentionally, one's identity). Experiences of misrepresentation generate/exacerbate perceptions of greater social distance and inferiority, sense of identity threat, insecurity and stigma, and cognitions of social exclusion, thus negatively affecting evaluation of the self and position in the society (Kipnis et al. 2013; Broderick et al. 2011; Goffman 1963). That is, since one's management of identity in contemporary societies entails intensified self-scrutiny whereby association with particular brand(s) and/or consumption community(ies) serves the goals of identity work, whether and how one's body and characteristics associated with it (such as success, particular social roles) is represented in advertising plays an important role in the construal of one's social standing (Thompson and Hirschman 1995).

Schroeder and Borgerson (2005) offer a helpful organizing framework for understanding forms of misrepresentation: 1) face-ism refers to more prominent representation (males vs females, young vs old etc.); 2) idealization encompasses depicted accomplishment of largely unattainable, inaccessible goals (idealized body images, lifestyles, situations etc.); 3) exoticization entails emphasis on specific characteristics of an individual (visual appearance such as skin color or dress, accent etc.) to the point of making them appear unusual and strange; and 4) exclusion refers to omission of certain characteristics (poverty, ethnicity/race, etc.). In the context of PWD representation this framework highlights that, paraphrasing Kaufman-Scarborough's (1999) influential thought piece, inclusive advertising constitutes more than depicting PWD-related images and narratives: rather, it is about constructing representations aligned with and accommodating for their realities.

While identifying the potential of misrepresentation to generate/exacerbate exclusionary perceptions and cognitions, extant consumer research has paid little attention to unpacking, critiquing and addressing the causal processes underpinning the construction of

misrepresentation to explain how and why it occurs in general, and in the context of PWD in particular. A handful of studies point out that idealization and/or dominance of particular body characteristics (such as gender, appearance) in advertising narratives is a reflection of a universally common cultural tendency to construct and follow what Campbell (2004) terms a 'hero myth'. The 'hero myth' represents a tale of a once ordinary man who emerges into an extra-ordinary form of being through a journey of encountering and overcoming challenges other beings cannot – for instance, Gee (2009) demonstrates how the hero mythology finds expression in 'warrior' portrayals of masculinity in sport advertising. However, much more work remains to be done in order to understand the impact of inclusion/exclusion perceptions derived from such mythological expressions on those advertising seeks to represent.

Particularly scant attention has been paid to the processes informing mythological, misrepresentational expressions of disability. Although a handful of studies on PWD misrepresentation in other forms of media exists in disability studies (Hardin 2003; Briant, Watson and Philo 2013), very few works (e.g., Bolt 2014; Duncan and Aycock 2005) address PWD misrepresentation in advertising. As eloquently summarized by Duncan and Aycock (2005, 136), a gap exists whereby "works on advertising seldom deal with disability; works on disability rarely speak of advertising". A conceptual lens helpful for bridging this gap is the theory of ableism, discussed next.

Ableism: a lens for understanding drivers and effects of PWD inclusion/exclusion

The concept of ableism encapsulates how the notion of a 'diminished state of being' is socio-culturally construed. It represents a sentiment of valuing certain abilities and/or characteristics over others promoted by social groups and structures that produces a particular understanding of the body and how it is viewed and judged by others. In its broadest sense ableism therefore encompasses an ability-justified realization of a person's body and conception of their being in

relation to others in the social space and incorporates a wide range of 'isms' including racism, sexism, ageism, disableism etc. (Wolbring 2011).

Ableism is closely associated with the notion of normalcy and resultant power relationships based upon normative values. As such, normalcy reflects conceptions of the legitimate way of being against which one's abilities and characteristics are judged, whereby those who best fit this construed norm uphold power over those who diverge from the norm. While existent in the background and unobtrusive in everyday life for people meeting the established criteria of 'normal', for those perceived to deviate from the 'norm' it often exists in the foreground and is more prevalent in their experiences within the social order (Mahtani 2001; Goffman 1963). The way ableism works is perhaps best summed up in the quote from Figueroa (1993). Although it is specifically related to racism it would appear that the words 'race', 'racist' and 'racism' can be replaced by words such as 'class', 'gender', 'age', 'disability', 'sexual orientation' and all of their relevant 'isms' without changing the overall context and meaning, while in practice these might be differently experienced:

> "[The] racist frame of reference can be thought of as a group myth, ideology, worldview, shared paradigm or embedded code in which real or supposed phenotypical or other features, taken as natural or inherent defining characteristics, constitute the key differentiating factor. It animates and constrains perception, interpretation and action, defines group identity, provides a rallying point for group loyalty and cohesion, structures social relations, provides a rationale for the existing social order, and performs a system maintenance function, serving the interests of those who hold power. It essentially operates at a tacit or taken-for-granted level" (Figueroa 1993, 93).

Indeed, discourses around issues such as race, gender, disability etc. have several similarities. They are generally based around a discussion of power relationships and how privileged

group(s) obtain(s) and maintain(s) power over (an)other group(s) using 'othering' as a sociocultural construction that justifies the normalcy of one group's perspective over alternative perspectives characterized as 'other' and judged as deviant (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000). Dominant groups' knowledge, experience and culture are thus universalized and become socially accepted as 'reality' (Berger and Luckmann 1966). Such cultural imperialism poses a particular paradox whereby the imperialized group(s) is/are both made invisible (through cultural norms) and simultaneously marked out, marginalized and/or fetishized as anomalous embodiments, usually related to visible characteristics such as skin color, gender, age, impairment, visible identifiers of religious beliefs etc. (Shildrick 2009; Eid 2014). Several streams of research have demonstrated how cultural imperialism plays out in, and powerfully transforms, various facets of human existence. Contextually, cultural imperialism can manifest as the whiteness ideology informing standards of beauty in post-colonial societies (Burton 2009), the myths of hegemonic masculinity (Gee 2009; Campbell 2004) and of effeminate gay men and sexualized femme lesbians (Tsai 2011), and a variety of ethno/racial stereotypes such as "disproportionately indigent, uneducated, violent and criminal" Blacks (Abraham and Appiah 2006, 184), and el bandido Latinos with an "unkempt appearance, the weaponry […], the sneering look" (Ramirez Berg 2002, 17).

Yet, despite commonalities between disability and other characteristics such as race or gender, disability warrants particular attention due to the complexity and multiplicity impairment as a human's body characteristic entails and to "many intersectional concerns […] that impact on the experience and significance of any disabled state" (Shildrick 2012, 33). In the context of disableism – an ableist conception of PWD – deviation from the 'norm' is associated with abilities characterized by one's physical or intellectual capacity, whereby 'full' (i.e., without impairment) capacity is prioritized as the most legitimate, non-diminished form of being. Such prioritization at the most general level results in "societal attitudes that uncritically assert that

it is better for a child to walk than roll, speak than sign, read print than read Braille" (Hehir 2002, 2). Furthermore, even in societies genuinely attempting to overcome such uncritical assertions the type or degree of impairment can place one to be less or further divergent from the 'norm' (Deal 2003), as societies construe hierarchical ideals of 'acceptable' impairments whereby:

> "acquired injuries such as spinal injury and blindness are placed at the top of the hierarchy, either because non-disabled people can empathize that an individual was once also a non-disabled person, or because their impairment is not perceived as a barrier to social interaction […] whereas other impairments, such as speech impairments, learning disabilities, mental health problems, facial disfigurements and so forth, can invoke fear, which then becomes a barrier to social interaction […] and therefore [they are] placed further down the hierarchy" (Smith 2012, 70).

From the perspective of disability representation, complexity and multi-dimensionality of impairment is reflected in the multiplicity of perspectives through which these representations are perceived. Worrell and colleagues (see Zoller and Worrell 2006; Worrell 2013) identify accuracy, social meaning and outcomes for those experiencing an impairment or illness as the three evaluative lenses of impairment and/or illness-related depictions. These findings underscore the importance of accurate and realistic representations acknowledging variability of experiences persons with even the same impairment can encounter in their daily lives and stress that token representations are problematic in the burden to stand for such variability and multiplicity (Zoller and Worrell 2006). At the same time, they emphasize the 'social dimension' of representation whereby portrayals of impairment/illness as barriers to participation in social life pose significant harms to the wellbeing of those represented.

Complexity of disableism must also be examined and understood in the broader context of diversity: as such, PWD are not defined by their impairment alone as their degree of social acceptability may also be informed by how it intersects with other 'isms' – e.g., on the basis of their gender, sexual orientation, race/ethnicity etc. (Gopaldas and DeRoy 2015). That is, being characterized by impairment and other characteristics conceived as 'diminished' within dominant group(s) ideologies can render PWD as those with multiple anomalous embodiments. Finally, similar to other devalued groups, PWD are susceptible to internalizing and performing ableism in relation to themselves and other PWD (Campbell 2008). For example, internalized ableism has been evidenced in sport as acceptance by disabled athletes, coaches and administrators of the second-class status compared to non-disabled athletes and sports (Brittain 2016). In sum, ableism creates a link between reification of certain groups and imbalances of control over social spaces (Goodley 2014). The Foucauldian idea of power – knowledge (Foucault 1976) explicates how ableist discourse operates in relation to PWD.

Power, Knowledge, Ableist Discourse and Disability

Contemporary conceptions of disability are predominantly grounded in the pathological view on impairment emerged from medical discourse. In contemporary societies the power of the medical profession, gained through its ability to both define and name illnesses and body parts, as well as the power to heal injuries and cure illnesses, puts it in a very strong position to create and perpetuate discourses with respect to many areas of life related to the body and mind (Wendell 1996). That medical discourse's work from a biological perspective has led to disability being conceived as merely a biological product, whereby the problems faced by PWD are the result of their physical and/or mental impairments and are independent of the wider socio-cultural, physical, and political environments.

As a result of this far-reaching authority of the biological perspective on impairment, and the 'cognitive authority' of the medical profession (Addelson 1983, 166) both the non-disabled and PWD internalize the ableist conceptions and perceptions of disability, constructing PWD problems to lie within them and their impairments. This powerful and legitimized discourse taken up and used by organizations and institutions (re)produces knowledge of disability as pathological (that is, based in biology), making any alternative discourse put forward by PWD almost impossible.

Drake (1999), by way of explicating PWD position within British society, draws from the work of Lukes (1974) and his three-dimensional analysis of power. The first dimension encompasses a view of power as an active concept, the direct exercise of which might take the form of decision-making or imposition of authority. The second dimension introduces the notion of 'deliberate non-decision', which includes the ideas in the first dimension and results in the suppression of a latent or manifest challenge to the values or interests of the decision maker. Insofar as the inactivity is deliberate, this is an exercise of power. The third and final dimension theorizes power to involve the shaping of people's perceptions and cognitions such that they accept their role in the existing order because they can neither see nor imagine an alternative.

Acquisition and assertion of power can be subtle in form, and in the case of disability, power is successfully concealed through the ableist perspective on impairment. Although it is difficult to discern this situation from a position of genuine consensus, where power is exercised by means of a social construction of reality there will exist a latent conflict (Lukes 1974 cited in Drake 1999, 15). Within the context of disability this latent conflict is manifested as a contradiction between those exercising power and the 'real interests' of those they exclude through the imposition of ableist perceptions of disability.

In consumption cultures those who produce representations, akin to the medical profession, hold a position of power over construction of symbolic meanings associated with standards of

social being. Prior research on other socially devalued groups underlines how this power can be exerted and asserted via imposing symbolic, often idealized or fetishized constructions of acceptable ways of being old, a male, a minority and so on, at times serving other social groups that are deemed of greater importance. For example, the work of Carrigan and Szmigin (e.g., Carrigan and Szmigin 2000; Szmigin and Carrigan 2000) exemplifies the latent conflict in the context of advertisers' views and motives when developing creative concepts of adverts representing older women. They demonstrate that advertisers either draw from broader social perceptions that 'everyone prefers younger people in advertising' or selectively represent older women that are known to be 'chronologically old but not physically old' thereby defining social parameters of 'being old without feeling old'. Roman (2000) stresses that advertising, popular culture and mass media merely expanded Latino/a conceptions to include the el bandido, the illegal immigrant, and the Livin' La Vida Loca (hip, flamboyant, singing/dancing character like Marc Anthony or Jennifer Lopez) stereotypes; Mahtani (2001) argues that through overrepresentation of ethnic minorities in cleaning, domestic and tourist adverts, the social roles of Canadian minorities are predominantly aligned to these depictions.

Stereotyped representations can be internalized by those represented as part of internalizing the broader societal discourse concerning expectations to their characteristics, resulting in transfiguration – a strive to live and consume embodying fantasy scenarios, to achieve acceptance as perceived to be dictated by the wider society's conventions (Murray 2015; Holbrook, Block and Fitzsimons 1998). Hence, the concept of ableism and how it is maintained in the societal discourse related to inclusion/exclusion presents a potent explanatory lens for unpacking the forms of symbolic PWD marketplace inclusion/exclusion through (mis)representation.

Conceptualizing the Effects of Ableism in PWD Symbolic Inclusion/Exclusion

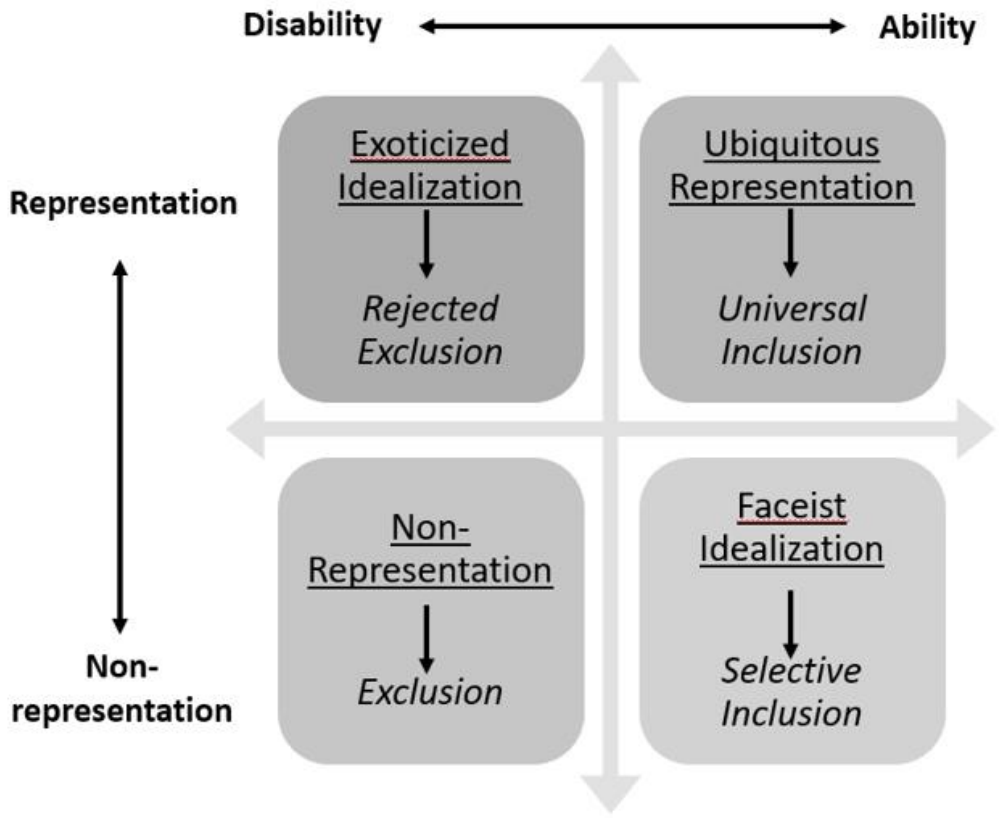
To date, ableism as a lens for understanding the complexity of marketplace inclusion/exclusion experiences of consumers with disabilities has received limited attention in the extant marketing and consumer research literature. To the best of our knowledge, Kaufman-Scarborough (2015) was the first to explicitly apply the concept of ableism to examine how varying placement along an ability-disability normalcy continuum as enacted by marketplace actors can inform varying degrees of PWD inclusion/exclusion.

The Ability/Inclusion Matrix (Kaufman-Scarborough 2015) distinguishes four types of inclusion/exclusion outcomes dependent on imposed ableist norms. Unintended exclusion represents ignorance when determining 'norm' criteria for access (i.e., only those who are independently mobile can access a certain space). Rejected exclusion entails denial of access due to non-accommodation for those who don't fully meet the expected ability (i.e., an airline does not fail to accommodate for wheelchair users because they are not independently mobile within an airplane interior, but because they are not mobile in the way they are expected to be: one of the most severe examples of such non-accommodation was a wheelchair user having to crawl to use the bathroom on a United Airlines flight because at that point no wheelchair was available – Gray and Roth [2015]). Selective inclusion encompasses inclusion based on certain abilities as criteria established by marketplace decision-makers (i.e., a local football club organizes a football team for male wheelchair users only). Universal inclusion characterizes accommodation for people of all abilities in a marketplace experience.

The matrix is a helpful inception for unravelling ableism's complexity and how, when enacted by marketplace decision-makers, it can shape societal conceptions of inclusion/exclusion in relation to PWD overall, as well as specific groups within the PWD population. To gain a more explicit perspective on whether and how ableism can be symbolically manifested in representational conceptions of PWD, we integrated the matrix with the (mis)representation

framework of Schroeder and Borgerson (2005) and the literature identifying forms of PWD misrepresentation in the media, to develop a conceptual model of Ability/Representation (see Figure 1). The model emerged through several iterations, by contrasting each of the conceptual definitions along the ability/inclusion relationship identified by Kaufman-Scarborough (2015) with the prior misrepresentation literature, and misrepresentation categorizations by Schroeder and Borgerson (2005).

Figure 1. Conceptual Model of Ability/Representation



The first form of misrepresentation (non-representation) in our model parallels Schroeder and Borgeson's (2005) categorization and conceptualizes it as a form linked to meanings of exclusion in a broader sense than defined by Kaufman-Scarborough (2015). That is, it incorporates non-representation (and linked exclusionary meanings) resultant from both prejudicial and/or ignorance motivations of marketplace actors. Additionally, the model conceptualizes two other forms of misrepresentation as having potential to evoke or reinforce

PWD exclusionary meanings. Specifically, we conceptualize depiction of one achieving success despite disability – which we term exoticized idealization – as a form of misrepresentation linked to rejected exclusion whereby conceptions and/or resultant perceptions of PWD follow the so-called supercrip narrative. According to Schalk (2016, 79), supercrip narratives are premised upon the ableist assumption that PWD "are not just like everyone else". Thus, depicting a plot of PWD excelling in a given life task as a special, unusual case of one overcoming his/her impairment to exceed expected performance abilities shifts the focus from sociocultural barriers constructed by ableist views engendered within societies to the pathological implications of an impairment itself (Silva and Howe 2012).

This focus enables those closest to the physical ability and performance norms to construct a narrative that both maintains the sociocultural barriers of the 'ability/disability norm' and at the same time enforces a norm of 'drawing inspiration' from those who manage to achieve despite these barriers. Conceptions of PWD rooted in the belief that impairment de-facto diminishes ability to fully meet social expectations and in the assumption of PWD need for special recognition, have been candidly termed 'inspiration porn' by the late disabled activist Stella Young (Young 2012). The degree to which supercrips can be deemed inspirational can vary by the type of life tasks which they are depicted to achieve: a regular supercrip achieves mundane tasks; a glorified supercrip achieves feats that even non-disabled persons rarely attempt (Kama 2004). In both cases, experiences of supercrip-stereotyped representation can perpetuate ableist assertions of an 'able disability' norm and, in turn, result in some PWD internalizing it to assume the status quo of their exclusion from the marketplace. Hence, exoticized idealization encompasses an imposition of the scenarios under which PWD are included in the marketplace through admiration by other actors (Murray 2015).

The second form of ableist-informed misrepresentation – which we term faceist idealization – is linked to selective inclusion meanings whereby certain groups of PWD are conceived and/or

perceived as more prominent. The basic premise is that perceptions of one's disability will be subliminally compensated through gender, race/ethnicity, class, and/or type of impairment privilege (Hafferty and Foster 1994). Consider a hypothetical extreme example whereby white male wheelchair users either receive greater attention in a representation narrative or are represented achieving something deemed more inspirational in their exploits than Asian females with intellectual impairments. Perversely, such an imbalance is likely to occur as a result of (dis)ableist conceptions of the former being offset by white males being perceived as one of the power-privileged groups (Hafferty and Foster 1994). From this perspective, faceist idealization entails an imposition of a view that possessing less anomalous characteristics renders one less 'diminished' and requiring less transfiguration to achieve marketplace inclusion than those possessing several anomalous characteristics (Shildrick 2012; Holbrook et al. 1998). The final category, termed ubiquitous representation, is conceptualized as linked to universal inclusion meanings, whereby PWD are conceived and perceived as regular, 'one-of many' marketplace participants. This conceptualization informed our exploratory study.

Research Approach and Design

Our design was underpinned by a multimodal research approach that examines incidences in discourse related to a particular phenomenon that can occur across a range of sensory channels (verbal, visual, tactile, sonic/aural, visuospatial and/or kinetic – Stivers and Sidnell [2005]) and serve as sense-making resources. A multimodal approach enables a more nuanced understanding of how semiotic or cultural resources are utilized by groups to derive meaning out of ordinary activities (Rossolatos 2015). In a similar vein, our primary goal was to examine meanings generated by different marketplace actors in relation to an incidence of PWD representation in advertising as a form of social discourse concerning their inclusion/exclusion.

Hence, a case study analysis of an advertising campaign that prominently represented PWD was deemed most suitable.

We selected the video advertising campaign titled *We're the Superhumans* created by the UK broadcaster Channel 4, the official broadcaster of the Rio 2016 Paralympic Games within the UK, as our unit of analysis, with the following rationale. This campaign is one of the most recent large-scale campaigns prominently featuring PWD that generated widespread interest. Launched in the run up to the Rio 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games, online on the 14th July and on television on 15th July 2016, the trailer aired across the broadcaster's portfolio of six television channels in the UK (Channel 4 website, 14th July 2016). From the launch date it aired daily up to 22nd August 2016, in full (3-minute) and shorter versions. According to Martin (2016), within three weeks of its launch the campaign ranked as Number 1 in the top ten 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games advertisements shared across YouTube and Facebook. As of September 29, 2017 the campaign view count on Channel 4's official social media platforms alone surpassed 40 million, as well as over 8.3 million views on Channel 4's official YouTube channel.

With its focus on the Paralympic Games, this campaign presents a particularly apt choice for examining inclusion/exclusion in the context of PWD marketplace experiences. Guttmann (1976), if not the founder then one of the key driving forces in the Paralympic Games and Movement, states that one of the three main areas in which sport participation can benefit PWD is social re-integration by showing non-disabled society what PWD are truly capable of. This idea underpins the 'ultimate aspiration' of the International Paralympic Committee (IPC) of making 'a more inclusive society for people with an impairment through para-sport', with a transformative impact on PWD social inclusion set as one of the key priorities: "The Paralympic Games are the world's number one sporting event for transforming society's attitudes towards impairment. By broadening the reach of the Paralympics, growing para-sport

events and furthering brand awareness, the Paralympic Movement's transformational legacy will be amplified" (IPC Strategic Plan 2015-2018, 14).

The case analysis comprised two multi-method phases: 1) a critical visual analysis (Schroeder 2006) of the trailer seeking to determine forms of PWD representation; and 2) a combination of thematic and sentiment analysis (Liu 2012) of the public discourse related to the trailer to discern inclusion/exclusion meanings it evoked.

Research Methods: Phase 1

Critical visual analysis enables "understanding and contextualizing" (Schroeder 2006, 303) meanings of group identities as signified and represented by visual artifacts such as photographs, websites and advertising. Following Schroeder's (2006) recommendations, we began by identifying portrayal of PWD abilities to partake in the social and sporting fabrics of society and Channel 4's association with the Paralympic Games as an incident in the broader social discourse concerning PWD inclusion being the focal subject matters of the trailer. The full 3-minute version features over 130 PWD (including para-athletes) performing a range of sporting and non-sporting day-to-day activities (such as playing a guitar, parenting etc.) set to the tune of Sammy Davis Jnr's 'Yes I Can' with the final video frame featuring the strapline *We're the Superhumans* followed by the message 'The UK Paralympic Broadcaster'[1].

Each research team member first watched the trailer independently. The first author produced the initial coding framework that broadly marked segments related to our conceptualization. The team then met to discuss the emerged framework, with the second and third author reviewing the codes and commenting on additional codes to include. The final framework consolidated the outcomes of our discussions. The team met regularly as the analysis progressed, to discuss and make analysis-related decisions and to discuss emerging interpretations.

[1] Full synopsis available from the corresponding author on request

To assess the forms of PWD representations we grounded a macro-code in the intersectional research paradigm (see, Gopaldas and DeRoy [2015]). Specifically, we assessed the form(s) and prominence of PWD representation utilizing the following categories: type of impairment, gender, race, and number of representations in the trailer. Another macro-code related to representation by type of impairment was established through adapting Tringo's Hierarchy of Preference Towards Disability Groups (1970) that delineates 21 impairment categories and ranks them by the degree of social acceptability. Although somewhat dated, its enduring stability was recently validated by Thomas (2000) who showed that only one category of impairment (cancer) had gained greater levels of acceptance.

Of 21 impairment categories distinguished by Tringo (1970) we adopted six as macro-categories admissible for visual identification: amputees, persons with visual impairments, persons with hearing impairments, persons with physical impairments – wheelchair users, persons with physical impairments – non-wheelchair users, short stature persons, and persons with intellectual impairments. While some of these macro-categories can include different impairments (e.g., spinal injury, cerebral palsy etc.) these were difficult to categorize due to their complexity. That is, some persons with cerebral palsy may be wheelchair users while some may not, depending on the severity of their condition. Hence, we deemed application of macro-categories more appropriate in a bid to avoid mislabeling. We also added one category not distinguished by Tringo (1970), persons with limb deficiencies. While lacking this type of impairment that emerged through analysis, Tringo's framework overall lent itself neatly to our objectives. When analyzing representation by race and gender we added a category termed 'unknown' to distinguish persons whose race or gender status was not discernible due concealment by sport uniforms (such as a fencing uniform).

A final macro-code related to representation of PWDs' social linkedness to the broader society akin to Zoller and Worrell's (2006) social dimension. Here we examined form(s) of PWD

representation by their portrayed engagement with other groups. The trailer features people without disabilities, juxtaposing them as mostly background actors relational to PWD, portrayed as either engaged in activities with PWD (for instance, as dancing partners) or admiring them in these activities (for instance, as cheering supporters). One person without disability verbalizes disbelief concerning PWD abilities: a section of the advert portrays a non-disabled teacher or careers adviser responding to aspirations of a schoolboy wheelchair user with the words 'no you can't' (as a counterpoint to the theme tune 'Yes I Can'). For each macro-code, coding was completed a number of times, and when the emerged sub-codes were identical three times in a row results were deemed acceptable.

Research Methods: Phase 2

We next examined whether and what PWD inclusion/exclusion meanings emerged in response to the campaign, using archival commentaries on *We're the Superhumans* in the online media, including news articles and opinion pieces in the online platforms of traditional media, and blogs. This data was collected via a series of online searches employing the Google search engine using keywords 'We're the Superhumans', 'Channel 4 Paralympics Advert 2016', 'Responses to We're the Superhumans', and 'Channel 4 Superhumans responses'.

The initial searches returned between 4 and 6 webpages per search relevant to the campaign. Google's search algorithm is configured to judge the webpage relevance based on the search term, the length of the piece (short exerts such as 1-2 sentences are not returned), the number of query words occurrences (including synonyms or variations). It also assigns greater weight to the keywords in important parts of the text, such as the page title, and takes the search context into account – e.g., if searching for an advert developed in the UK, the returns shown first are likely to mainly originate from UK sources, but unless the search is specified to be limited to the UK sources only, other relevant sources will be included (BBC 2017). Through test searches we identified that relevance of the source material reduces significantly beyond 6

return pages maximum. Taking Google's algorithm and the test search returns, we concluded that 6 pages per key word search provides sufficient scope to sample data relevant to our focus. The sampled pieces included personal blogs, business blogs, online newspapers and media pieces. The content of this initial data corpus was screened for relevance: each piece was read by the authors first independently and discussed to make final decisions on retention in the final sample. The main criterion applied in our evaluations throughout the screening process was that the retained pieces had to include a commentary on the meanings of the advert rather than its other characteristics. We eliminated pieces that, for example, discussed the potential impact the campaign might have on sponsorship deals of Paralympic athletes represented in it. As a result of this exercise we retained 15 pieces, comprising a body of text with a volume of 13,607 words, for further analyses.

Next, we conducted a manual thematic analysis seeking to identify the nature of expressed views and to place the meanings of the text in context (Marks and Yardley 2004). Given that the purpose of utilizing manual thematic analysis prior to submitting the data to sentiment analysis was to gain an initial insight into the major thematic dimensions in question, we employed Kvale's (1996) meaning condensation approach for this step. Although originally developed for analysis of qualitative interview data, because meaning condensation entails an abridgement of expressed meanings into shorter formulations to discern the central meaning (Kvale 1996), we deemed it suitable for our purpose. Meaning condensation was iterative, whereby the first author conducted the initial screening of the retained pieces and formulated abridged central meanings. The second and third author subsequently reviewed the pieces independently. Following this, the research team discussed and agreed the final central meaning abridgements that informed interpretation and selection for further analysis.

Finally, we triangulated the thematic analysis with a sentiment analysis conducted with the employment of Leximancer (ver. 4.5) text-mining software (Smith and Humphreys 2006).

Sentiment analysis, also known as opinion mining, "has grown to be one of the most active research areas in natural language processing" (Liu 2012, 5) as it enables identification and categorization of opinions expressed in a corpus of text in the context of a discourse while avoiding fixation on atypical anecdotal evidence. Leximancer produces a semantic map by performing a style of automatic content analysis that examines a body of text to select important terms based on the word frequency and usage co-occurrence (Smith and Humphreys 2006). These terms are subsequently submitted to a thesaurus builder which learns a set of classifiers to identify weighted terms as concepts. Leximancer analyzes the text using these automatically identified concepts to identify their relative co-occurrence frequency and to form a hierarchically organized semantic network that shows the links between more general concepts (which we refer to as key concepts) and more specific concepts (which we refer to as linked concepts). Interpretation of the sentiments expressed in the text is therefore based on examination of the output semantic maps.

Findings

Contrasting the critical visual analysis findings with the forms of PWD (mis)representation conceptualized in the Ability/Representation model (Figure 1), we identified that, although attempting to evoke generally inclusive meanings the campaign construes both forms of ableism-informed PWD misrepresentations: exoticized idealization and faceist idealization.

Integrated representation of Paralympic athletes and members of the broader PWD population signifies an attempt to extend the PWD inclusion agenda beyond groups that can be considered 'elite' through their associations with the globally high-profile Olympic and Paralympic Movements. Furthermore, portrayal of people without disabilities and PWD jointly engaging in various events and activities broadly signifies reference to universal inclusion. However, juxtaposition of PWD performing activities, the audial narrative of 'Yes I Can' and textual message *We're The Superhumans*, and disbelieving yet inspired people without disabilities

cheering PWD bear synergies with the exoticized idealization narrative of supercrip stereotype. Portrayal of PWD performing mundane life tasks (such as parenting) and achieving sporting successes in the context of high-profile sporting competition as superhumans are consistent with narratives of regular and glorified supercrip (Kama 2004). As highlighted by prior literature (Murray 2015; Worrell 2013; Holbrook et al. 1998) and our theorizing above, imposition of a scenario under which PWD achieve marketplace inclusion through acquiring an image of extra-ordinary poses some ethical concerns, since it can serve as a symbolic reinforcement of an 'able disability' norm mythology.

Findings on representation prominence by type of impairment, gender and race are generally consistent with our conceptualization of faceist idealization, although some unexpected findings also emerge. Tables 1 and 2 present the breakdown of numbers of PWD represented in each of the analytical categories. Table 1 showcases the dominant prominence of wheelchair users' representation. With 49 wheelchair users represented throughout the trailer, this is over four times as many as people with visual impairments (12) and fifteen times as many as people with intellectual disabilities (3). The least represented disability groups were persons of short stature and those with a hearing impairment, with one person represented for each impairment. Contrasting the numbers of impairment type representations with Tringo's Hierarchy of Preference Toward Disability Groups (1970) indicates that, generally, the disparity in impairment groups' prominence is consistent with the notion of existing variance in degrees of social acceptability assigned to different impairments as inclusion/exclusion characteristics (Smith 2012; Deal 2003). However, while prominence in representation by type of impairment is mostly consistent with Tringo's (1970) hierarchy, our findings suggest a potentially substantial shift towards greater acceptability assigned to wheelchair users as they constitute the most represented group within our data. This aligns with Deal's (2003) proposition that,

although facing most disablement in a physical sense, wheelchair users have become the most socially accepted group among PWD.

Consistent with our conceptualization of faceist idealization, prominence of representation by gender and race (Table 2) signifies dominance of certain groups. The relative dominance is greater by race whereby white is almost three times more prominent than all other races combined (117 white vs 40 non-white representations). Based on phase 1 findings, it is reasonable to expect the campaign to have the potential to evoke meanings of selective inclusion and rejected exclusion within the broader PWD inclusion discourse. With this in mind, we turn to presenting the findings of the meanings discerned from analysis of marketplace actors' responses to the campaign.

Table 1. PWD representation by impairment groups in *We're the Superhumans* trailer

PWD representations in trailer (by numbers featuring)	**Tringo's Hierarchy of Preference Toward Disability Groups (1970)**
Amputee: 46 (Arm:21/Leg:25)	Amputee
Visual Impairment: 12	Blindness
Hearing Impairment: 1	Deafness
Physical Impairment – Wheelchair User: 49	Paraplegic
Short Stature: 1	Dwarf (Short Stature)
Intellectual Disability: 3	Mental Retardation
Physical Impairment – Non-Wheelchair User: 20	Cerebral Palsy, Hunchback
Other representations (by numbers featuring)	
People without disability: 31	
TOTAL: 163	

Table 2. Representation by gender and race in *We're the Superhumans* trailer

Gender	**Male**	**Female**	**Unknown***	**Total**
	86	71	6	163
Race	**White**	**Non-white**	**Unknown***	
	117	40	6	163

**Unknown refers to persons whose race or gender could not be identified due to uniforms etc.*

The initial case-by-case analysis of the retained pieces identified that, broadly, each piece reflected either mostly positive (eight pieces) or mostly negative (seven pieces) reactions to the campaign. The pieces expressing positive views belonged to such actors as a major para-sport organization, online newspaper outlets, business and marketing focused websites, and one website providing information for PWD. Overall, they expressed the opinion that the campaign is a success and a step forward for PWD inclusion, with one piece quoting the IPC President Sir Philip Craven saying the trailer "celebrates ability and I am confident it will shift perceptions on a global scale".

Negative commentaries represented a mixture of blogposts on individual blog pages, online newspaper outlets, and a business and marketing website. Overall, they expressed views of the trailer's narrative being unrepresentative of how PWD are regarded and treated within society, with four of seven commentators self-identifying as a person with disability. We conducted sentiment analysis on split dataset (by positive/negative views), to discern meanings generated in each of these discourses. Because the Leximancer's (Smith and Humphreys 2006) raw output is cluttered and requires a large visual space to allow interpretation, Figures 2 and 3 present re-drawn, 'clean' semantic map visualizations[2]. The bold underlined words represent the key concepts, all others represent the linked concepts.

[2] Raw semantic maps available from the corresponding author on request

Figure 2. Semantic Map of Positive Commentaries (Redrawn for clarity)

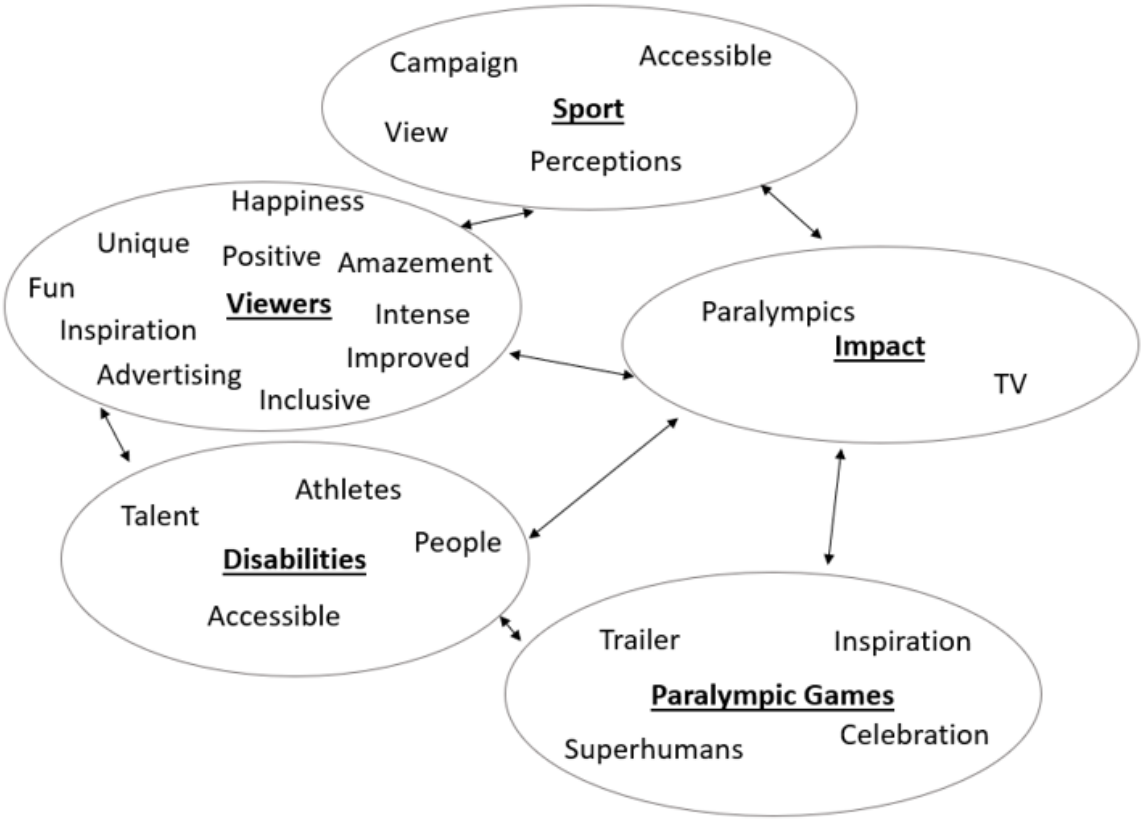


Figure 3. Semantic Map of Negative Commentaries (Redrawn for clarity)

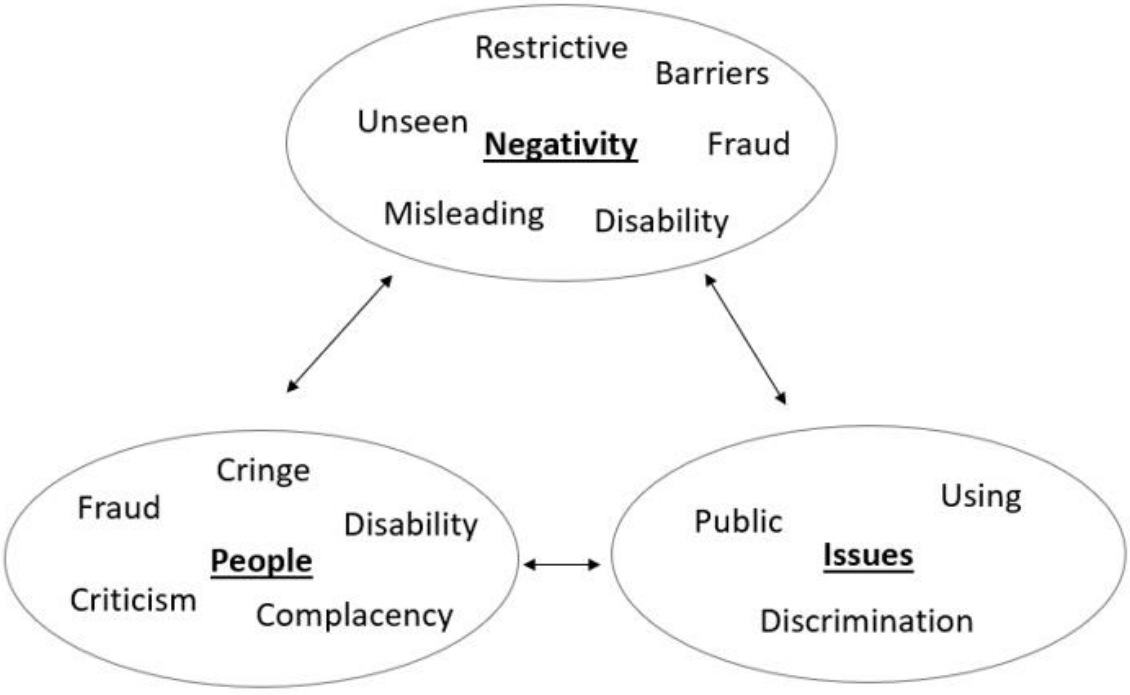


Figure 2 (also see Appendix 2), presenting the key and linked concepts in the semantic map of positive responses to the campaign, demonstrates that the campaign evoked perceptions of accessible sport, inclusion, talent among PWD and sentiments of amazement, inspiration and happiness. The trailer was perceived as a celebration of disability linked to the Paralympic Games. Taken together, the evoked meanings of PWD talents, amazement and inspiration are laden with an ableism-informed construal of the 'able disability' norm and align with ableist expectations to be amazed by PWD meeting such normative expectations. Conversely, the key and linked concepts in the semantic map of the negative commentaries in Figure 3 (also see Appendix 2) indicate that the campaign evoked perceptions of barriers/restrictions, complacency, discrimination and negativity in relation to disability, and emotions of revulsion (cringe). The meanings derived from the trailer expressed its perceptions as misleading and fraudulent. It is also important to note that the concepts associated with race/gender inclusion or exclusion are absent from either of the semantic maps.

From the perspective of the research question we pursue, that negative sentiments appear derived from the perspective of PWD and positive sentiments appear either not grounded in a PWD perspective or derived from perspective of a vested interest (e.g., parasport organization), highlights a clear disparity in perceptions and views on what constitutes inclusive representation of PWD realities. This can possibly be attributed to *We're the Superhumans* campaign combining representation of a certain aspect of disability – that of disability sport – which is non-representative of all types and levels of impairment and not of relevance to all PWD (as is the case with non-disabled people and sport) with representation of realities pertaining to the wider PWD community. The lack of inclusion of all PWD within the sporting realm, and particularly the Paralympic Games, does not fare well with the conception of inclusion that the majority of disability activists advocate for and strive to effect, serving to

evoke a dissonance in meaning-making within the wider societal discourse on PWD inclusion/exclusion.

General Discussion

This section will (1) consider our findings in the context of the extant knowledge on PWD inclusion/exclusion; and (2) discuss directions for future research and practical implications of the study.

Relevance of the Major Findings to the Literature

Taken together, our findings unravel the multiple, complex and at times contradictory meanings related to PWD inclusion/exclusion. That is, while successful in generating/stimulating social discourse on PWD inclusion, it appears that the meanings of inclusivity towards PWD construed in and derived from the *We're the Superhumans* campaign signify that ableist ideals of disability may be continuing to shape understanding of disability in the marketplace. Intersectional analysis corroborates Gopaldas and De Roy's (2015) findings that many bodily forms remain largely invisible, further highlighting that unidimensional assessment of inclusion in marketplace representations can be misleading. Adopting Gopaldas and De Roy's terminology, particularly noteworthy is dominance of (white) race-disability (71% of people represented were white), of (male) gender-disability (10% more males than females represented), and of disability-type of impairment (28% and 16% of impairments represented by wheelchair users and amputees respectively, making a total of 44% PWD representations) intersections.

These uncovered quantitative imbalances provide further support to calls for an integrative multidimensional analysis to unpack the multiplicity of characteristics that can render one an anomalous embodiment and impact their experiences of significance and normalcy within a given sociocultural construction (Shildrick 2009). In relation to driving PWD inclusion through advertising representation, our findings support calls for greater consideration of the ethical

implications of idealized depictions of impairment and types of impairment (Bolt 2014; Briant, Watson and Philo 2013; Worrell 2013).

Indeed, when drawing from stereotypical, fantasy narratives to construe representations – whether in relation to gender, age, disability or other body characteristics – advertising can (re)create existing or new mythologies of norms for the ideal types more generally and 'able disability' in particular, thus maintaining or increasing barriers to marketplace inclusion (Murray 2015; Campbell 2004). The meanings emerged from the sentiment analysis indicate that (some) PWD realities are misrepresented in favor of an 'able disability' norm and signify frustration with these ideals prevailing. By juxtaposing the opposing (positive vs negative) views, as well as showcasing the absence of views on race/gender representation in responses to the campaign, our study highlights that, among some groups, it generated or reinforced norms of rejected exclusion and selective inclusion of PWD in the marketplace.

These complex perspectives suggest that PWD experiences of marketing images construing their representation from the perspective of ableist norms can have a negative effect on their perceptions of social inclusion, and consequently self-normalcy, esteem and identity. In turn, these perceptions can perpetuate PWD internalizing the ableist discourse to accept and endorse their (mis)representation as the only status quo possible within the marketplace. Furthermore, the subtle effects of ableist ideals of disability may further conceal the latent conflict rooted in the imbalance of power between PWD and marketplace actors generating and shaping their representations (Lukes 1974). That is, in line with Foucault (1976), the very fact of PWD representation in the *We're the Superhumans* campaign appears to have partially masked or redressed exclusion as experienced by the majority of PWD in their lived realities.

By uncovering the remaining power imbalance between marketplace actors and functions (e.g., marketing/advertising) and some of the groups they represent, our findings highlight the necessity for marketing researchers and practitioners to continue developing a more critical

understanding of the cultural complexities within consumer spheres in order to eliminate the less obvious types of exclusion in their practice. Further, we argue that subtleties of ableism must be considered when one acts with the intent of being inclusive. Taking together the findings of our study with prior research on (mis)representation of socially devalued groups other than PWD (e.g., Roman 2000; Mahtani 2001; Szmigin and Carrigan 2006; Gee 2009) underscores pervasive (whether intended or unintended) patterns in (re)production and perpetuation of ideal body type myths in various contexts.

Consolidating the extant knowledge on the inclusion/exclusion perceptions and cognitions stemming from experiences across consumer groups labeled as a non-ideal, devalued form of being through one or more bodily characteristics can provide holistic perspectives on experiences shared between as well as context-specific to particular consumer groups or bodily characteristics. To this end, ableism as a theoretical lens offers promise, as it recognizes the multiple intersections of different characteristics and their impact on the overall sociocultural constructions of one's body, sense of significance in the social space, and – consequently – inclusion/exclusion in the marketplace as a space in the wider society (Shildrick 2012).

The meaning-making dissonance showcased in our findings highlights that views failing to recognize complexities of identity trajectories within PWD consumer spheres inherently skew the outlook on foreseen impacts of developed representations and preclude generation of versatile representations that reflect inclusion in a manner relevant to different PWD. That is, the positive commentaries on the *We're the Superhumans* are led by none other than the IPC President, Sir Philip Craven, whose view can possibly be regarded as a validation of the campaign's success in improving the lived experiences of PWD. At the same time, several commentators voicing negative responses to the campaign emphasize that their perspectives are provided from a PWD viewpoint. Such contradictory views exemplify the complexity and variation of disability perceptions within and across non-disabled and PWD groups. Hence,

while not contesting that PWD representations conveying narratives such as *We're the Superhumans* may have positive implications in that they generate a greater exposure of PWD within society, we posit that potential negative unintended consequences can arise that may outweigh the benefits. One such consequence is reinforcement of the inability or unwillingness to differentiate between 'Superhumans' and the average disabled person and perpetuating wider society's 'inspiration porn' (Young 2012) expectations of PWD.

Implications for Future Research

By integrating the extant frameworks of advertising (mis)representation and the theoretical perspective of ableism, our study contributes an extended view on ability-justified marketplace inclusion/exclusion through construction of ideal body mythologies in consumptionscapes, bringing to the fore a number of fruitful future research directions. As the area of disability and exclusion in advertising and other marketing representations has received limited attention to date, there is a large scope for work to further understanding of the underlying processes informing inclusion/exclusion perceptions and cognitions arising from intricacies of (non)accommodation for PWD in the subjective spaces projected by marketing communications. The conceptual model of Ability/Representation extends the view on the drivers and effects of PWD marketplace inclusion/exclusion beyond perspectives of (non)accommodation for physical aspects of impairments uncovered by prior research (Dennis et al. 2016; Kaufman Scarborough 2015; Baker et al. 2007). The model unpacks how and why PWD as an entire group, or some PWD groups within this population may be construed and presented in ways that are misaligned with their own experiences of living with a disability.

One direction for future research is to consider whether and what forms of celebrity PWD representations may have positive or negative effects on inclusion/exclusion perceptions and cognitions related to ordinary PWD. Some recent disability research (e.g., Brittain and Beacom 2016; Braye, Dixon and Gibbons 2013) points to the prevalence of the negative effects of

promoting celebrity PWD on the lived realities of the broader PWD population, as illustrated by this viewpoint: "I'm afraid that the focus on elite Paralympians promotes an image of disabled people which is so far from the typical experiences of a disabled person that it is damaging to the public understanding of disability" (quote from Colin, participant in study by Braye, Dixon and Gibbons [2013, 988]).

Another fertile direction is studying whether representations portraying PWD without emphasis on them overcoming impairment to be 'one-of-many' members of the marketplace generates more all-encompassing inclusion meanings. For example, a recent campaign by Maltesers (Mars, Inc.) depicts a group of young female friends, one of whom is in a wheelchair, discussing her recent experience as one of the life experiences a young person may have. Importantly, although created following Channel 4's initiative as part of their 2016 Year of Disability (Channel 4 2016), its creative concept emerged as a challenge to the 'Superhumans' ethos resultant from engaging the voices of PWD. Michele Oliver, the vice president of marketing at Mars, Inc. explained that consumer research conducted as part of the creative concept development uncovered that 'people with disability end up being either pitied or celebrated as superhumans in the Paralympic Games but, actually, we're all just people getting on with our lives with their highs and lows.' (Kiefer 2016). As efforts towards more ubiquitous representation are evolving organically, it would be of interest to examine what inclusion/exclusion meanings emerge in response to these forms of representation.

From a methodological perspective, future studies can enhance practical implications of our study by adopting participatory action research (Ozanne and Saatcioglu 2008) approaches, to test and refine our Ability/Representation conceptual model in cooperation with PWD. As such, truly-inclusive advertising can assume an important role in improving the lives of PWD, if avoiding the potential damage of reinforcing and reconstructing ableist discourse. Engagement with the complexities of PWD lived realities from their perspectives can inform a

more critical, in-depth understanding of non-discriminatory representation and development of inclusion-impactful symbolic accommodation in the marketplace.

Finally, future research is also much required to shed light on the effects of disableism intersecting other possible 'isms' such as racism, sexism, faith discrimination etc. (Wolbring 2011). Gopaldas and DeRoy (2015) point out that one's construction of lived experience relates to multiple facets of identity, and Borgerson and Schroeder (2002) highlight that (mis)representation is multifaceted. Thus, non-representation and misrepresentations across different impairment, racial, faith, gender, sexual orientation and other cultural dimensions may have significant effects on identities and relations between both different impairment groups within the PWD population and also between PWD and non-disabled members of society. Other intersectional applications of the Ability/Representation model would be also of interest.

Conclusion

This paper introduced ableism as a theoretical lens for unpacking the multiple forces that can inform and drive misrepresentative constructions of consumers in the marketplace and for examining their impact on inclusion/exclusion discourses in wider society. It theorizes ableism as a subliminal and pervasive perspective on the norms for a marketplace-socialized [consumer] body as justified by this body's ability to align with or exceed expectations imposed by marketplace actors holding power to exert these expectations. By conceptualizing the relationship between forms of marketplace (mis)representation and meanings related to inclusion/exclusion through the lens of ableism the paper contributes to research into marketplace inclusion, demonstrating how subliminal social hierarchies underpinned by 'isms' work to evoke, perpetuate and/or reinforce subtle forms and perceptions/cognitions of exclusion. By exploring meanings of disability projected and evoked by the *We're the*

Superhumans campaign as an instance of PWD marketplace inclusion effort, the paper unpacks the complexity of causal mechanisms underlying (mis)representational mythologies of what characterizes a marketplace-socialized disabled consumer body.

Our exploratory findings point to the double-edge potential of subjective spaces created by or contributed to by marketing as a marketplace function. That is, (mis)representational mythologies of the marketplace-socialized body, amplified by and diffused into the wider social discourses via such marketplace channels as public, commercial and social media can, on the one hand, shape conceptions of social order towards more inclusive consumer cultures by championing consumers with socially-devalued characteristics. On the other hand, they can mask the complexity and multidimensionality of characteristics that can lead to discrimination and exclusion within the realm of a given socially-devalued consumer group. The Ability/Representation model offered in this paper shows how adopting an ableism lens enables an intersectional conceptualization of the various 'isms' drivers (disableism, racism, ageism, sexism, faceism, etc.) and resultant forms of inclusion/exclusion meanings (re)produced in the marketplace, to identify and account for mechanisms underlying exclusionary outcomes of unidimensional (e.g., focused on one characteristic of the consumer body) inclusion-intended marketplace actions.

We acknowledge that our study is not without limitations. The case study focus was an advert predominantly broadcast and developed for usage in the United Kingdom and was made to target a British based audience with the inclusion of a number of Team GB athletes. Also, while a multimodal approach enabled examination of the meanings generated by and derived from a specific campaign in public inclusion/exclusion discourse, cross-comparison of a larger sample of advertisements, drawn internationally, could possibly unearth contextual differences affecting the discourse. Another limitation stems from sample selection, since our sampling strategy did not include such rich sources as disability forums and social media platforms.

While inclusion of these platforms into the sampling frame was not warranted in light of our study's objectives, future examination of these platforms can provide more focused, in-depth insights taking the viewpoint of PWD. Finally, it is necessary to acknowledge the limitations associated with utilizing automated analysis of the text as opposed to manually handling the data (Jones and Diment 2010). While choice of sentiment analysis was guided by the objective of identifying the shared meanings elicited by the campaign in public discourse, obtaining thick, rich data to glean in depth insights into contextual factors that shape individual views would also be of interest. To this end, a larger study is underway.

As experts exerting power across several subjective social spaces, such as advertising, social media, delivery of customer experience, marketers shape conceptions of social order in the marketplace. Despite growing recognition and drive, by marketing and consumer researchers, towards inclusive, non-stereotyped multicultural representation in the marketplace (Kipnis et al. 2013; Broderick et al. 2011), much work remains to be done. While growing marketplace representation of socially marginalized groups is a welcome development, not all means of representation are viable means of inclusion and in some instances, can result in opposite (even if unintended) outcomes. For a truly-inclusive approach to representation to emerge, greater cognizance of ableism effects and engaging perspectives of PWD and other groups as the main informants of their representation are needed to eliminate more subtle forms of exclusion. By unpacking the complexities of how one's body (non)normalcy conceptions are constructed, more intricate conceptual and practical approaches to (de)constructing (mis)representational mythologies can emerge and serve equitably inclusive consumer cultures.

Disclosure Statement

No conflicts of interest were reported by the authors.

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